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November 4, 1960

✓ *and*  
Mr. Pierre Salinger  
Press Assistant to Senator Kennedy  
Room 362, Senate Office Building  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Salinger:

Mr. Dulles has asked that I forward to you for Senator Kennedy the sixth in the series of our memoranda covering world comment on the Republican and Democratic national tickets.

Sincerely,

  
Executive Officer

STAT

EO/DCI/ at

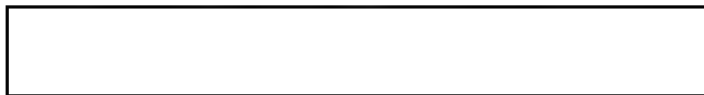
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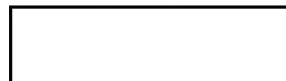


STAT

## SPECIAL MEMORANDUM

FOREIGN COMMENT ON  
REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL TICKETS

NO. 6 -- 3 NOVEMBER 1960



STAT

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U S S R

# CANDIDATES PLEDGE WAR BOOM PROSPERITY

Moscow, Soviet European Service in Rumanian, Oct. 21, 1960, 0800 GMT--I

(Excerpts) If we were to believe the propagandists of the cold war, explosives produce our daily bread. This is the meaning of the sermons advocating war preparations, which have acquired terrific proportions in the last few weeks within the framework of the U.S. presidential election campaign.

The politicians who want to grab power vie with each other regarding their policy of guns and butter. Both Kennedy and Nixon, as well as the other candidates for high posts, noisily boast: "If you bring me to power and give me as many dollars as possible for military expenditure, the country will know unprecedented prosperity."

Life shows that bellicose ideas are incompatible with the people's prosperity. It is interesting to know in this respect the real data concerning the economic position of the United States. According to the latest calculations of Federal Reserve Board statisticians, it appears that U.S. production is on the decline.

Those now studying U.S. economic life no longer speak of a less active economic life, but clearly note the existence of a depression; this is what the WALL STREET JOURNAL, the organ of U.S. business circles, says. BUSINESS WEEK writes: Business is slackening and the future is doubtful. NEWSWEEK notes that the U.S. economy faces another ordeal.

It is clear what this will mean for the simple people in the United States. This is why the ordinary American people anxiously watch the aggravation of the economic situation. Even at a time of bright economic conditions brought about by military orders, the American working people's life is not as prosperous as advertised by the posters of official propaganda. Even Kennedy, the Democratic candidate for presidential post, had to admit that 32 million people in America live in dire misery. In fact the number is higher, but Kennedy referred only to those families whose yearly income does not exceed 2,600 dollars. Even according to official data, there are nearly 4 million unemployed and about 13 million partly unemployed--more than last year. It is sheer mockery of these unfortunate people when U.S. propaganda boasts that an economy based on the cold war creates advantages which in fact do not exist.

Militarization and the curse of an oligarchical class which gets rich as a result of military orders have plunged America into the maze of growing economic difficulties and insoluble problems. It is therefore true that guns will never produce butter.

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DEBATE EVOKES SPIRIT OF FOSTER DULLES

Moscow, Soviet European Service in Serbo-Croat, Oct. 22, 1960,  
1500 GMT--L

(Text) Late Friday evening, the fourth round of the television duel between the candidates for president of the United States was held. Dick and John have shown themselves at their best, according to an AP summary of the duel.

How did the duel go? The first blow was struck by Dick. He accused his competitor of not understanding U.S. policy toward Cuba. "The United States," said Nixon, "is trying in every way to overthrow the Cuban Government. It is carrying out an economic blockade of this country, has severed diplomatic relations, and is ready to take other steps." It is unfortunate that the honorable Mr. Kennedy does not understand all that.

John hit back: "I do not agree with Mr. Nixon," he said. "I have quite a different point of view. The overthrow of Fidel Castro's government is a half measure. I propose--and I consider it the only correct way--not to overthrow the Cuban Government, but to destroy it by force of arms. We have to send our boys there to establish the sort of order we would like."

How good it is that there is a genuine democracy in the United States, and such freedom of thought! Look, good people, what a rich choice the Americans have. They can vote for the candidate who proposes to overthrow the Cuban Government by economic aggression or diplomatic blackmail, or if they do not approve of this, they can vote for the other candidate, who has a diametrically contrary plan--a plan for military intervention against the Cuban people.

"I am right," stated Richard Nixon pleadingly, defending his high ideals of economic banditry warmly. "No, I am right," repeated his competitor convincingly, inviting support for his humane program of military banditry. AP does not report the third participant at this debate, the shadow of the father of contemporary American policy, John Foster Dulles. Dulles' ideas resounded in Nixon's and Kennedy's speeches. The late secretary of state never stopped at half measures. He resorted to economic blockade, economic blackmail, and military intervention. Remember the example of Guatemala. That is why Dulles' shadow nodded its head when Nixon spoke and when Kennedy submitted his views. When the debate ended, both competitors, as if they had heard this approval, shook hands.

In fact, why get excited? Washington is waging an economic war against Cuba. It is putting unprecedented pressure on the Cuban Government. All this is supplemented by preparations for armed intervention. That is a clear Foster Dulles policy. If one asks who is right, the answer

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must be that the people of heroic Cuba, fighting against the U.S. policy of economic banditry and military banditry, are right. Guatemala will not be repeated, Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kennedy! The people of Cuba will inevitably win.

#### ROCKEFELLER FEARS QUEMOY 'GIVEAWAY'

Tashkent, in English to India and Pakistan, Oct. 22, 1960, 1200 GMT--B

(Summary) It has long been known that Nelson Rockefeller, the multimillionaire governor of New York, is engaged in the petroleum business, but it never occurred to anyone to suggest publicly that he might be interested in the sale of foreign real estate. Now Rockefeller himself has decided to fill this gap. Here is the story.

The American political campaign recently produced a small scandal when Democratic presidential candidate Kennedy and Republican Governor Rockefeller disagreed on U.S. policy in the Far East. The stumbling block was the Chinese islands of Quemoy and Matsu, small pieces of land several miles off the coast of mainland China.

The Chiang Kai-shek clique entrenched on Taiwan has been holding these islands with the support of U.S. guns and dollars, although this is militarily senseless. It suddenly occurred to Senator Kennedy that these islands would eventually have to be returned to their only lawful owner, the Chinese People's Republic.

Rockefeller was indignant: "What? Return the islands--gratis?" The businessman in him could not tolerate the idea. He argued that "Kennedy does not understand the Chinese communists," while he, Rockefeller, does. One has to bring pressure on them, at least to the extent of getting them to free the American spies they are holding behind bars. This sort of proposition--giving back to the Chinese people their own islands and at the same time doing a little business on the side--is what the Americans call a "deal." Mr. Rockefeller forgot, however, that selling other people's property, and stolen property at that, is the most elementary crime in the code of any country, including his own.

#### NIXON ODER-NEISSE STATEMENT REFUTED

Moscow, TASS, Radioteletype in Russian to Europe, Oct. 22, 1960, 1844 GMT--L

(Text) New York--In a bid for the votes of Americans of Polish origin, Vice President Nixon made a statement in which he promised that if he was elected president, he would consider the present western border of Poland on the Oder-Neisse final. Nixon said with justification that the Western powers "must take into consideration the determination of the Poles to defend their western frontier from Germany," as "all

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Poles, both in Poland and abroad, are united in their determination to defend this western frontier."

However, AP soon transmitted a statement of the State Department from Washington, which completely refuted the position of Vice President Nixon. Quoting a representative of the State Department, Reap, AP indicates that "the United States does not consider the border between Germany and Poland final."

In the words of Reap, the United States is of the opinion that the region between the former and the new frontiers is not Polish territory, but territory administered by Poland. In the opinion of the United States, the question of its ownership must be decided by a peace treaty. This confirms the hostile position the present U.S. Government, and, as is known, Nixon is a member of this government.

#### PRAVDA QUOTES KENNEDY PRESTIGE REMARKS

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, Oct. 24, 1960, 0900 GMT--L

(Text) Under the headline "The United States No Longer Possesses the Initiative in World Affairs," PRAVDA today carries the speech of Kennedy, U.S. presidential candidate, and the speech of one of the leaders of the U.S. Democratic Party, Adlai Stevenson. Speaking in the election campaign, these U.S. politicians admitted that the prestige and influence of the United States throughout the world has considerably fallen. "We no longer possess the initiative in world affairs," Stevenson stated.

"I lift my head and see the Soviet flag on the moon," Democratic U.S. presidential candidate Kennedy stated during the fourth television election debate with Republican candidate Nixon.

Kennedy asked: "Is our prestige higher than ever, as Mr. Nixon affirmed a week ago, and the prestige of the communists lower than ever? I do not believe that is the situation. I do not consider that our relative power is growing." Kennedy blamed the Eisenhower administration for the course of events in Cuba and in the whole of Latin America, which has been unfavorable for the American imperialists. Kennedy admitted that the prestige of the United States is low in Africa. In the Middle East, he continued, we relied on the Baghdad Pact, but when the change of government took place in Iraq the Baghdad Pact fell apart. In the Middle East we relied on the Eisenhower doctrine. Now there is not a country in this area which would support the Eisenhower doctrine.

Kennedy said he was greatly alarmed at the danger of an alteration in the balance of forces in favor of communism. Throughout this speech Kennedy blamed the Republican administration for the failure of U.S. foreign policy, and gave an assurance that if the Democratic Party comes to power the United States will be able to recover its position in the world. We can no longer allow ourselves to occupy second place, Kennedy stated.

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CANDIDATES URGE INTERVENTION IN CUBA

Moscow, TASS, Radioteletype in English to Europe, Oct. 24, 1960,  
1848 GMT--L

(Text) New York--A violent campaign is continuing in the United States against the Cuban Revolutionary Government and its reforms. The presidential candidates--Vice President Nixon and Democratic Senator Kennedy--have also contributed their bit to the anti-Cuban campaign. Speaking in an election debate on foreign policy, Kennedy in particular advocated stepping up the propaganda campaign against Cuba and the Cuban government by armed force. Kennedy demanded that Washington secure the cooperation of other nations of the Western Hemisphere and its European allies in enforcing the trade embargo on Cuba. Complete isolation of Cuba, he said, is the only way to bring real economic pressure to bear upon the Fidel Castro government.

In this connection, Kennedy urged that the United States consider tougher economic sanctions against Cuba, including measures to prevent Cuba from getting commodity deliveries through a third country. The Democratic presidential candidate went on to demand more open armed intervention in Cuba's affairs and the overthrow of Fidel Castro's government with the help of the sworn counterrevolutionaries who have found refuge in the United States. He called for strengthening those forces which hold out hope for Castro's overthrow. The New York TIMES pointed out that Senator Kennedy's public announcement of his offer to finance an anti-Castro uprising was very imprudent.

Vice President Nixon's position on Cuba actually does not differ from Kennedy's, although Nixon pretends he is opposed to direct armed intervention. The Vice President suggested that the United States do in Cuba what it did in Guatemala. In this connection the New York TIMES notes that the Eisenhower administration, and Nixon personally, did in Guatemala exactly what Senator Kennedy is suggesting for Cuba. The paper adds that the point is that any official who has some knowledge of the fall of the Arbenz government in Guatemala knows that the U.S. Government, through CIA, actively cooperated with forces which acted against Arbenz, financed them, and supplied them with arms.

Marguerite Higgins of the New York HERALD TRIBUNE criticizes the presidential candidates for being so "outspoken." She writes that it was horrible to hear Vice President Nixon speaking in an offhand manner about the need to "get rid of Castro" or to hear Senator Kennedy publicly suggesting that the United States render assistance to anti-Castro rebels.

ELECTIONS OR NOT, CAPITALISTS RUN U.S.

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, Oct. 26, 1960, 1800 GMT--L

(Text) Today I would like to focus your attention on the election campaign in the United States. The days before the new president and vice president will be elected are numbered. The elections, as you know, take place on Nov. 8.

So far not a single political commentator in America has set about making any definite forecast. This is, indeed, one of the notable features of the present election campaign. Usually at this stage of the election battle the political situation is becoming clear and the commentators can more or less definitely, and usually fairly reliably, foretell the most likely outcome of the elections.

How is one to explain the present state of affairs? In any case, it is not due to any lack of desire to determine to which side the political scales are tilted; there is, if anything, an excess of this desire among American observers. Nor is it because experienced experts have disappeared from the American scene; there are still quite a few oldtimers in Washington. The answer is to be found elsewhere. It is a long time since the opponents in the presidential elections have been politicians whose views and programs differ so minutely and insignificantly as do those of Richard Nixon and John Kennedy and of Henry Lodge and Lyndon Johnson.

The political programs of the Republican Party, which is now in power and is led by presidential candidate Nixon and vice presidential candidate Lodge, and the program of the Democratic Party, which is trying to gain control of the government and is led by Kennedy and Johnson, are twin documents. In fact, the politicians of both parties also very much resemble twins. If, Mr. Johnson, for example, stood as a Republican candidate and Lodge stood for the Democrats, the political sum would hardly be altered in the slightest degree by this transposition of the components.

Remarking upon this, the American magazine NATION wrote in one of its most recent issues that the problem which concerns the American voters most of all is the problem of peace. But no candidate and neither party--neither the Republicans nor the Democrats--defends a policy of peace. Both Nixon and Kennedy are loyal to the postwar policy of the cold war. Neither of them expresses the opinion that the general direction of American policy is incorrect. Neither of them says that it might be desirable to develop a program of coexistence with the Soviet Union, and neither of them suggests ways to achieve this purpose.

It appears from all accounts that the editors of this magazine have correctly grasped the essence of the main problem of the present electoral campaign: The impossibility of finding substantial differences between

the positions of the leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties has led to a situation in which a considerable number of voters, although the election campaign is already drawing to a close, simply cannot decide to which candidate they should give their preference--to the 47-year-old Republican Nixon or the 43-year-old Democrat Kennedy. Even such a person as the head of the American Institute of Public Opinion, George Gallup, who has made political forecasts and predictions his business--and, incidentally, quite a profitable business--this time prefers to keep mum. He said recently that it was impossible to foretell the results of the elections because large numbers of voters had not decided for whom they would finally vote.

The only forecast that American commentators dare to make is that this time a considerable number of the voters will prefer not to go to the polls at all. It is suggested that the number of voters who will prefer to stay at home on Nov. 3 will be from 20 to 40 percent of all the U.S. citizens with the right to vote.

The leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties are obviously put out by this turn of affairs. In the last few weeks, they have been making absolutely heroic efforts to stir up the voters by some means or another. Kennedy and Nixon and their closest assistants are rushing around the U.S. towns at truly cosmic speed. Nixon has already managed to visit 48 out of the 50 states of the United States and his rival does not lag behind.

The American press writes in all seriousness that the purely physical endurance and strength of the vocal cords of the presidential candidates may finally influence the eventual outcome of the election. In this connection certain advantages are noted on the side of the younger Kennedy. The papers write that in the last few days Nixon has looked more tired than Kennedy.

All the achievements of modern technology have been put at the service of the two proteges of the American monopolies. Television has never played such a big part in a U.S. election campaign. Both Nixon and Kennedy, without false modesty, have tried, from the screen of the television set, to convince the voters that he is the man all American citizens have been dreaming of for many decades; they have already invaded the living rooms of millions of American voters several times.

The American press says that Nixon and Kennedy prepare for their television appearance in the most thorough manner. However, this preparation is of a very peculiar sort: the candidates are not so much concerned with what they are going to say as with how they will say it and how they will look. Before each appearance experienced makeup men from the Hollywood film companies apply thick layers of makeup to Nixon's and Kennedy's faces, touch up their eyes, and tint their lips, while the foremost exponents of the coiffeuring art work on their hair styles. Newspaper commentaries on these appearances

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read more like theater or film reviews than political reviews. They discuss how many times and how broadly Kennedy smiled, whether the lighting was good or not and how well the frames were chosen during Nixon's appearance.

However, the American press can hardly be blamed for such a presentation of the election campaign. I think that in this respect the tone has been set by the candidates themselves, the leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties of the United States. It is they who, in their campaign speeches, have tried every means possible to avoid discussion of the most acute problems concerning the workers of America. It is they who try to reduce the discussion of serious political questions to empty discussion and personal squabbling; and when the candidates are nevertheless obliged to say something about political problems, they cannot offer the American voter anything new. Both Nixon and Kennedy are campaigning on political platforms which can only be assessed as completely in accord with the interests of the biggest monopolies in the United States.

Whatever points from the programs of the two bourgeois parties one selects to compare, under close examination it is not difficult to discover behind them one and the same guiding hand--the hand of the millionaires. In the sphere of domestic policy, both the Republicans and the Democrats plan to continue the policy of the arms race which is bringing the American taxpayer to ruin. In the sphere of foreign policy, both proceed from the positions of the cold war.

True, here one must observe one particular circumstance: Sensing, evidently, that one can ride far away from the White House on the hobbyhorse of the cold war, Democratic candidate Kennedy recently decided to change his tactics a little. In an attempt to attract the votes of those who are seriously concerned over the failure of American foreign policy, he made a number of critical remarks on this policy. In particular, Kennedy did not agree with the demands of influential circles in Washington for the immediate resumption of nuclear weapons tests, stating that he considered it essential to continue negotiations on this question. It seems that this and certain other utterances by leaders of the Democratic Party have been dictated to a considerable measure by campaign considerations. However, the very fact that they consider it necessary to make statements such as these on the eve of the elections shows fairly convincingly the mood of the broad circles of American public opinion.

This important factor is making a substantial imprint upon the present election campaign. The leaders of the bourgeois parties in the United States cannot evade the fact that the Soviet proposals aimed at strengthening peace, and in particular the notable activity of head of the Soviet Government Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev at the current session of the General Assembly, have had a very serious effect on the mood and the views of people all over the world, including the people of the United States.

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In discussing the election campaign in the United States, which is now drawing to its close, I must say a few words about the support which is being given to Nixon and Kennedy by the most influential groups of monopoly capital. One is particularly struck by the fact that the majority, I should say the overwhelming majority, of the influential organs of the American press, the major newspapers and magazines, are supporting Richard Nixon. This reflects the fact that the most influential and most powerful financial empires, the Rockefellers and Du Ponts, the Morgans and the Fords, show a preference for the Republican Party. It has received huge sums from the corporations and banks for the conduct of the election campaign, and this defines the positions of a considerable part of the American press.

However, this does not mean that the Democratic Party is out of favor with the monopolists. Many cases are known in which the farsighted heads of the major corporations have preferred to play safe by financing the election campaigns of candidates of both parties. Also important is the fact that Democratic candidate Kennedy, who has a fortune of 400 million, generously draws from his own pocket for campaign funds. In any case, a victory for the Democratic Party on Nov. 8, if this should happen, will by no means dishearten the businessmen of New York and Chicago, Boston and San Francisco. They have sufficiently stable positions in the leadership of this party to insure that the policy of its government will not run counter to their interests.

In the last few days reports about a considerable aggravation of the economic situation in the country have appeared in the American press. Official data published in Washington show a decline in production in the major branches of industry and a rise in unemployment. This fact has seriously worried both Eisenhower's administration and, particularly, the leaders of the Republican Party. Political observers consider that, with the equilibrium between Democrats and Republicans observed in the course of the present election campaign, an economic disorder at the moment of the elections might hurt the Republican Party, which is now in power, and also hurt candidate Nixon. With this obviously in mind, official propaganda is at present making heroic efforts to calm public opinion and convince Americans that this is not the beginning of another economic recession, but a leveling-off of the economy. The leaders of the Democratic Party in their turn are trying to use this circumstance to attract votes, although Kennedy has not put forward any serious program in the sphere of economy.

Only a few days are left before the presidential elections. We shall not try to guess their outcome. In the final analysis, this is not so important as two weighty factors which are already obvious even today. The first is that, whatever outcome which the American voters' ballots may produce, the levers of state power in Washington will remain in the hands of the same heads of the major American corporations. The second and most important factor may be formulated as: Whoever wins the election, whichever candidate, the Democrat or the Republican,

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Kennedy or Nixon, moves into the White House, he will have to take into consideration the real balance of forces in the world, the mood and hopes of the people.

BOTH NIXON, KENNEDY FAVOR ARMS RACE

Moscow, Soviet European Service in Italian, Oct. 26, 1960, 1115 GMT--L

(Excerpts) Commentators in America usually issue, long before the elections, their predictions as to the outcome on the basis of inquiries made among the electors. But they are silent now. They are in an embarrassing position owing to the apathy of the electors.

It is not difficult to understand the attitude of the U.S. voter. He wants in the White House during the next few years a personality able to open perspectives for the future, to conduct a policy of peace and international detente, to lead the country out of the cul-de-sac of internal and external difficulties into which the present rulers have led him.

Problems of foreign policy worry Americans even more. The international prestige of the United States has never been so low.

Meanwhile the American people are deprived of the possibility of electing a president who is seriously prepared to solve all these problems. No presidential candidate, none of the principal U.S. politicians, says the New York magazine NATION, defends the policy of peace. Both candidates are following the policy of the cold war. The big financier and U.S. ambassador to Britain, John Whitney, again stated recently that whoever wins the November elections, U.S. foreign policy will not change. Thus the only course open to the American elector is to reject the candidate who is worse than his rival. In other words, on Nov. 8 the issue will only be the choice of the lesser evil. This does not, however, appear to be so easy. In fact, during the electoral campaign both Nixon and Kennedy have clearly shown that they are in favor of the continuation of the cold war, the armaments race, and intensification of international tension.

The United States, affirms Nixon, if he becomes president will do everything to increase American military power. Vote for me, says Kennedy, in his turn and I shall conduct the offensive on all fronts of the cold war. Nixon is for strangling of the Cuban revolution. So is Kennedy. They differ only on the methods to be applied. Nixon is against People's China. So is Kennedy. They argue only over which islands should serve as U.S. military bases along the Chinese coast.

And so, in all questions the difference consists only in the fact that while Nixon counts on his extreme right position, Kennedy now and then

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drops a leftist phrase. However, this cannot mislead anyone. Both candidates (using the slogan?) of the fight for peace and freedom, actually put forward plans for action against peace and freedom.

#### U.S. SURVEYS REFLECT PRESTIGE DECLINE

Moscow, TASS, Radioteletype in English to Europe, Oct. 27, 1960,  
1435 GMT--L

(Text) Moscow--With the U.S. presidential election drawing nearer, the question of prestige and foreign policy is becoming the central issue of the election campaign. After long hesitation, the White House was at last compelled to admit Oct. 26 that the government has at its disposal secret reports about U.S. prestige abroad. Although official quarters do not reveal the contents of these reports and their conclusions, the very fact that the government did not make them public or at least known to U.S. legislators makes it clear beyond any doubt that the conclusions of these documents do not favor present policy makers in Washington.

Even if such doubts could have existed until recently, they were completely dispelled by the New York TIMES, which published, most probably due to the efforts of the Democratic Party leaders, some information about one of these reports. The poll, carried out under the instructions of the United States in 10 countries, including Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Pakistan, confirmed that U.S. prestige in those countries continues to decline. Washington's decision to keep the results of this poll under seven seals was apparently prompted by a number of reasons. The poll was taken in countries where American propaganda departments spend considerable funds to increase U.S. prestige and to present any unseemly acts by Washington in a favorable light. Congress is annually asked to allocate large sums of money for these purposes. In the course of debates on such allocations, congressmen often complain that these capital investments do not bring desirable dividends.

However, most important of all is the fact that the publication by the government of the results of the poll would run counter to the basic plank of the Republican Party's election program. The Republicans, headed by Eisenhower and Nixon, hope that in this way they will succeed in hypnotizing the America elector, in convincing him that everything is fine and that Washington's prestige, even if it is not increasing, in any case is not declining catastrophically.

This keynotes a majority of preelection speeches by Vice President Nixon and President Eisenhower, who is losing no time in helping him. Speaking in San Francisco last week, the President said: "When we hear some misguided people wail that the United States is stumbling

into the status of a second class power and that our prestige has slumped to an all-time low, we are simply listening to the debasement of truth."

But now, only a few days after the President's speech, it has become known that the government is carefully withholding from the people facts which shed bright light on this question.

The Democrats, with Kennedy at their head, were sure to use this situation to their advantage. Kennedy, for instance, declared that if American prestige is slumping, other countries, particularly those which gained independence recently, will follow the leadership of the Soviet Union and not that of the United States. Expressing alarm in this connection, Kennedy makes no effort to reach the root of the matter, to discover the main reasons for the fall of U.S. prestige. He merely states facts and--it goes without saying--tries to convince the electors that he and his party would be able to change this tendency. Kennedy and his associates ignore the fact that their own foreign policy program differs little from that of the Republicans and rests on the same faulty principles of adventurism which made U.S. prestige fall lower in the eyes of world public opinion than ever in the history of that country.

Official Washington quarters and the press supporting the Republicans are making feverish efforts to repair the political damage inflicted by the publication of the secret report. The New York HERALD TRIBUNE carries an editorial which sounds alarm over the unhealthy emphasis in the election campaign on the state of American prestige in the international arena. The paper hints rather transparently that discussion of this subject may harm the quarters whose interests are served by both parties. The paper calls for the earliest possible discontinuation of disputes over prestige, and for pretending that nothing has happened.

If Washington expects to restore the badly damaged reputation of the United States in this way, it should recall an American proverb: An empty sack cannot stand by itself. To restore prestige it is necessary to eliminate the factors which caused its decline. For this purpose the demands of life must be taken into account and faulty, stagnant policy must be renounced.

#### REPORT ON NIXON TEST-BAN STATEMENT

Moscow, TASS, Radioteletype in English to Europe, Oct. 27, 1960,  
1513 GMT--L

(Text) New York--In an effort to win as many votes as possible Vice President Nixon has launched another maneuver. In a campaign speech at Toledo, Ohio, yesterday, Nixon, according to the New York TIMES,

declared that if he is elected president he will ask President Eisenhower to send vice presidential candidate Lodge to Geneva to discuss the prohibition of atomic weapons tests with the Soviet Union. If such talks do not bring agreement in sight "before Feb. 1," Nixon said, "we would be prepared" to meet with Prime Minister Macmillan and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N.S. Khrushchev "to make final agreement at the summit" on the prohibition of tests.

The presidential candidate made an attempt to simulate a "peace initiative" in the United States when the propaganda campaign for resumption of nuclear weapons tests is at its height there. The fact that Nixon's speech was actually part and parcel of this campaign was proved by Nixon himself. He frankly declared that if by the next time limit no agreement is reached, the United States would resume nuclear explosions.

#### CANDIDATES' WIVES FIGURE IN ELECTION

(Editor's Note) Moscow in German to Germany at 1800 GMT on Oct. 27 carries an anonymous commentary which implies there is so little difference between "smiling Dick" Nixon and "charming John" Kennedy that their wives' attributes are being compared. Nixon is being depicted as a typical American and his wife as a woman who makes her own dresses. Nixon's opponents counter, the commentary says, that Kennedy is the best candidate for the presidency because his wife speaks not only English but Spanish and Italian.

#### U.S. PRESTIGE FALLS TO LOWEST LEVEL

Tashkent, in English to India and Pakistan, Oct. 29, 1960, 1200 GMT--B

(Summary) Lately, political life in the United States has been going through sensational days. Senator Fulbright's committee learned that the State Department had prepared a special secret report on American prestige abroad based on public opinion polls in 10 countries. The Democrats demanded that the report be made public. The State Department tried to escape and said that it was an official document and not a subject for publication.

While these heated arguments continued, the New York TIMES published the gist of the so-called secret report. Perhaps among a certain section of the American public, stupefied by the newspaper racket about the prestige of the United States, this report really created a sensation, but for the people abroad the deductions made in the report were far from being a secret.

The report says among other things that of late, particularly after the breakdown of the summit, American prestige has fallen to a level never before registered in public polls. One of the main findings in determining popular sentiment in European countries, particularly in Britain, as the report shows, is that confidence in American ability to guide the world in solving present-day problems is abysmally low.

The Democratic presidential candidate, John Kennedy, seized upon this report to strike hard at his rival, Nixon, blaming the Republican leadership for the unprecedented fall in American prestige abroad. Kennedy, however, kept silent about the real cause of the situation. The real reason for this fall in American prestige lies in the aggressive foreign policy of the United States, which is supported not only by the Republicans but also by the Democrats. The planning of the arms drive, the heating up of the international atmosphere to a stage on the brink of war, and the enlisting of their allies in aerial provocation against the USSR are fraught with the danger of bringing about a terrible international conflict involving the use of nuclear weapons.

The Democrats who are racing for the presidential seat accused the Republican leadership of being responsible for the fall in American prestige, but what do they propose themselves? Nothing new. Kennedy has in his portfolio the same old program of intensifying the arms drive, international provocation, and heating up the international situation. Such a policy can only lead to a further catastrophic fall in American prestige. The people of the world will turn away completely from America as a country on whose banner is inscribed the arms drive and a third world war.

#### Eisenhower on Prestige

Moscow, TASS, Radioteletype in English to Europe, Oct. 29, 1960,  
1132 GMT--L

(Text) New York--The vast scope of the discussion of the decline in U.S. prestige is causing serious alarm in Washington. The latest official to join in the discussion is President Eisenhower. Addressing a Republican Party campaign meeting in Philadelphia yesterday, he sought to persuade Americans that their serious apprehensions over the sharp decline in the standing of the United States overseas are totally unwarranted. His main "argument" was that the U.S. armed forces have "weapons of tremendous deterrence." The President boasted that U.S. military expenditures have reached an unprecedented level and declared that the talk about the drop in America's standing is "ignorant" and that the very word "prestige" has been misused.

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Today, however, the New York TIMES published a document showing that whether one likes it or not American prestige abroad has declined in recent years, and substantially. The document, marked "confidential" and dated Oct. 10, 1960, is a survey of world opinion on the relative achievements of the United States and the Soviet Union. It indicates, the TIMES says, a "wide belief that the Soviet Union is well ahead" and the opinion that the Soviet Union "will still be ahead 10 years from now."

The document was prepared for the Operations Coordinating Board chaired by Special Assistant to the President on National Security Affairs Gordon Gray. Other members of the board are high-ranking officials from the State Department, the Department of Defense, CIA, ICA, and USIA.

Meanwhile, New York HERALD TRIBUNE correspondent David Wise recalls in a dispatch from Washington that last January, during a public hearing of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, USIA (the official State Department organization in charge of American propaganda overseas--TASS) Director George Allen quoted from agency surveys measuring American prestige abroad to demonstrate the decline in U.S. prestige.

The senior New York TIMES overseas correspondent, Sulzberger, regrets the survey taken abroad, declaring "there is something humiliating about the thought that U.S. Government employees go about foreign lands questioning their inhabitants on 'what are your feelings' toward President Eisenhower" and similar matters. Sulzberger believes, however, that "there is too much false talk about the claim that we are today stronger than we ever were before. Strength is not an absolute condition. It is always relative. We are not, relatively speaking, stronger compared with Russia than we were a decade ago. The contrary is true."

#### Kennedy, Stevenson on Prestige

Moscow, in Serbo-Croat to Yugoslavia, Oct. 25, 1960, 1930 GMT--L

(Text) A new scandal is taking shape in Washington. The affair began with a speech by the chairman of the Senate Committee for Foreign Relations, Fulbright. He stated that the government refused to make public a report on the decline of U.S. prestige in the world. The question is now under discussion in the House of Representatives.

What is this government report? It deals with an inquiry conducted by the State Department in conjunction with the decline of U.S. influence. Literally not one single day passes without expressions of anxiety in the United States over the fall in U.S. prestige and the increasing authority of the Soviet Union. Such statements are not made by ordinary Americans alone, but also by prominent politicians, well informed of the real state of affairs.

Such admissions were, for instance, forced out of the Democratic Party's presidential candidate, Kennedy, and one of the leaders of the Democratic Party, Stevenson. It is obvious that the results of the inquiry have shaken the officials to such an extent that they cannot decide to publish them.

#### NO ANSWERS OFFERED FOR U.S. PROBLEMS

Moscow, in English to Eastern North America, Oct. 24, 1960, 0109 GMT--L

(Text) Will it be Mr. Nixon or Mr. Kennedy who will stand at the helm of the American Government at what is perhaps the most dramatic period in history? The American people will provide the answer two weeks from tomorrow. They will have to take an important and difficult decision. It will be a responsible decision, because the future of America is at stake. It is difficult, because neither of the candidates offers a program with concrete solutions for the problems facing the nation.

There is a lot of talk in the United States about a need for change, and there is reason for such talk. The eight years the Republicans have been in power led the country up a blind alley. President Eisenhower failed to break with the aggressive foreign course of the Truman administration. He even championed the policy of brinkmanship. The United States sent the U-2 and the RB-47 spy planes into the Soviet Union, torpedoed the summit talks, and proclaimed it official policy to violate the sovereignty of other countries.

The government has revealed itself to all the world as a promoter of aggression and international provocations. In spite of loud declarations about longing for peace, the Eisenhower administration has not worked for relaxation but for an intensification of international tension, working not for disarmament but for more armaments, talking against colonialism while in fact working for preservation of the decayed colonial system.

Now the question acutely arises of America's prestige in the world arena. Naturally, Republican leaders are now pointing up their administration's achievements in every way during this election campaign. Vice President Nixon, for instance, asserts without blinking that America's prestige is now greater than ever. His attitude is quite understandable. If he were to admit the contrary, it would mean total bankruptcy for his party, but no matter how hard he tries, he cannot hide the generally known fact that America's present foreign policy is extremely unpopular and that there has been a disastrous drop in America's prestige. Some Republicans have admitted this. Senator Javits said it would be foolish to deny the decline in U.S. prestige the world over. He blamed the situation on the U-2 spy plane provocation and the events in Japan, Cuba, and the Congo. Democratic leader Adlai Stevenson seeks the reasons for

anti-U.S. demonstrations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. He suggests that the matter be viewed through the other man's eyes and that no good can come of calling failures success and defeat victory. He warns that you won't deceive others by deceiving yourself.

Mr. Kennedy presented plenty of facts on the deterioration of the U.S. position in his latest debate with Mr. Nixon. In the Middle East, he pointed out, the United States banked on the Baghdad pact, but when Iraq changed its government the pact fell through. It depended on the Eisenhower doctrine, which the Senate had endorsed. Now, Mr. Kennedy pointed out, there is not a single country in the Middle East that supports the doctrine. Mr. Kennedy also emphasized that in voting on China's representation in the United Nations only two African countries supported the United States while all the others either abstained or voted against it. Mr. Kennedy accused the government of not being up to the revolutionary changes taking place in the world and failing to side with the newly developing nations in their fight for liberty and for raising their living standards and improving their lives.

You must agree with Mr. Kennedy's charges. The only trouble is that while leveling justified criticism at the Republican administration Mr. Kennedy does not offer any healthy program. He tries to convince the voters that you can insure peace through force and that the United States must arm in order to conduct negotiations.

We hear the familiar refrain urging power politics and increased nuclear might. That is just the policy the Republicans have been pursuing for the past eight years, the policy that has brought them to their present sad finish. Certainly, continuation of this policy will not make for greater popularity for the United States. You cannot cure a disease by prolonging the condition that brought it on.

#### CAUSES OF U.S. PRESTIGE DECLINE TRACED

Moscow, in English to Eastern North America, Oct. 29, 1960, 2300 GMT--L

(Text) During the last few weeks, newspapers all over the world have been writing about the reevaluation of the role being played by the United States in world affairs. This topic is one of the preelection issues between Richard Nixon and John Kennedy. Moreover, everyone--perhaps with the exception of Mr. Nixon, whose position obliges him to be optimistic--has come to a conclusion not in favor of the United States. What is the cause of this change in attitude on the part of other countries toward the United States?

In order to give an objective answer to this question, we must first of all look back at history for the past 10 to 15 years. I do not know whether you agree with me or not, but I think the United States attained the highest level of respect for itself during the last

months of the war and the first part of the postwar period. The U.S. people had made a considerable contribution to the victory over Hitlerism. Nobody at that time ever had the idea of figuring it out in dollars.

Harry Truman, however, quickly dissipated the respect for the United States which had accumulated during Mr. Roosevelt's time. The cold war period set in, and many nations became rightfully cautious toward the United States. The overemphasis of the fact that the United States had a monopoly on atomic weapons was mainly aimed at putting psychological pressure on the USSR, but the planned effect did not crystallize. Certain countries in Western Europe and Asia were the ones who were frightened, because they had become relatives of the owner of such a horrible weapon by ties through political and military blocs. All the efforts and funds spent in those years by the United States for stockpiling the means of waging another war have not justified themselves in the least.

The idea of an atomic super power was punctured by the news that the USSR also possessed nuclear weapons. The lopsided policy in technical engineering and capital investments led to a state of affairs in which the USSR came out in front of the United States in many branches of science. In 1957, the people of the whole world began to think: Yes, in the first stages of discovering nuclear energy the United States was in the lead, but the first sputnik was launched from Soviet soil. The first atomic power station in the world appeared near Moscow and not in the suburbs of New York. You probably remember that that was the time when critical remarks concerning the training of scientific experts appeared for the first time.

Is this the only thing that is wrong? I think that one of the most important reasons for the U.S. lack of leadership in scientific competition was the arms race, which started in Truman's time and has been going on in Eisenhower's term of office.

Certain types of maple trees have a specific property. Not a single other tree or shrub can live long near a maple tree because the maple's long-reaching roots suck up all the nourishing food out of the soil. The same thing concerns militarism, which has become the state policy of the United States. It strangles everything--national education and the development of peaceful branches of science, culture, and art.

In reality, the time is past when super model refrigerators and streamlined cars symbolize the economic potential of one nation in the eyes of another. New criteria, both economic and moral, have now appeared. The economic criteria are the rates of development. Industry and agriculture in the socialist countries are developing at a considerably faster rate than in the United States, the leading capitalist country. These successes of the socialist countries in peaceful economic competition raise their authority in the eyes of other nations.

Another criterion is the relation to disarmament. The peaceful proposals of the socialist countries in ironing out disputable questions and the disarmament problem are winning the support of hundreds of millions of people. Meanwhile, the U.S. policy in the field of disarmament is really in a discreditable light. Has the United States worked out its own finished disarmament program? Have the U.S. Government leaders ever uttered concrete and clear slogans appealing for a world without wars and weapons? No, they have not. Even Great Britain and France, in this respect, have come out with more new proposals than the great power of the 20th Century, the United States.

Needless to say, all this does not add lustre to the name of America in all the continents of this planet of ours, which, in reality, is not so large at all.

#### AMERICANS HAVE NO CHOICE IN ELECTIONS

Moscow, in Korean to Korea, Oct. 28, 1960, 0900 GMT--B

(Summary) With the U.S. election only two weeks away, a pitched battle of campaigning is going on in the United States. Posters of the Nixon camp urge the electorate to vote for Nixon by claiming that he has the most fabulous full dress suit in the United States, while Democratic leaders are soliciting votes for Kennedy by pointing out his wife's personal charm. A union of brunettes for the support of Nixon and another union of blondes for the support of Kennedy have been organized.

One may ask oneself what these things have to do with the election. However, one can find the true nature of the electioneering in the answer to this query. The U.S. electorate has nothing with which to compare and choose. Nixon vows to strengthen the U.S. offensive power, whereas Kennedy calls for beefing up U.S. military potential. Although the people of the United States have to make a choice, they cannot make a reasonable choice, no matter how hard they may rack their brains over their coffee.

A presidential candidate claims that the Republican Party is the symbol of U.S. prosperity, warning that the Democratic Party will push the country into a catastrophe. To this charge, the other presidential candidate answers that the Democratic Party alone can insure social progress, charging that the Republican Party is bringing the country to the verge of bankruptcy. Through years of their experience, the U.S. people know the charges of both sides are correct. During the Truman administration, prices of commodities and taxes increased markedly. So did the number of bankrupt farmers.

This adverse situation has remained unchanged under the Eisenhower administration. Therefore, victory for one means a road to catastrophe, whereas victory for the other signifies a path to bankruptcy. Accordingly, there is no room for choosing. They are Tweedledum and

Tweedledee. They know too well that they cannot win the support of the voters with an empty promise for an armament race or prosperity. Since they have nothing else to offer the voters, they are trying to divert their attention to their hair style and suits, instead of focusing it on political issues. The course of election campaigning once again points up the U.S. style of democracy.

#### PRESTIGE, ECONOMIC ILLS AFFECT CAMPAIGN

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, Oct. 29, 1960, 0500 GMT--L

(Text) Republican Nixon and Democrat Kennedy have tried with all their might to exclude reality from the preelection skirmish of the two bourgeois parties. They have tried in every way to sidetrack the electors with empty discussions and disputations which commit them to nothing, but this tactic, well tried in many U.S. preelection struggles, misfired this time. In the last few days before the election, the American authorities had to release figures which have depressed all of official Washington. First, figures were disclosed proving the serious reduction in the production level in the U.S. economy and the growth in unemployment.

Now after the first comes a second blow. An official report has been published in the American capital giving evidence of a record which will undoubtedly not please the electors. According to this report, the cost of living in America has reached a level unprecedented in the history of the country. In recent months food, clothing, and the necessities of life have become more expensive, and rents have gone up. The cost of a wide range of services from medical treatment to haircuts and shaves is rising with an unvariable constancy, the American press laments.

There is no doubt that this forced admission by the American authorities is becoming one of the most important factors in the election campaign. It is quite clear that this just dissatisfaction of the electors will have an effect on the position of the Republican Party, which is now in power. Neither can the Democratic Party give the Americans anything but the most vague and nebulous promises. The entire course of the election campaign has shown that Kennedy and his supporters have no definite program whatsoever for easing the lot of the workers, whose position is growing worse yearly. Thus life once again has demonstrated the complete isolation of the leaders of both American bourgeois parties from the needs and interests of their people and the deep crisis and bankruptcy of so-called democracy.

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Campaign's Pace Intensified

Moscow, Soviet Home Service (Far East Program), Oct. 29, 1960, 1830 GMT--L

(Text) A little more than a week remains before the presidential elections. The election struggle between Republican candidate Nixon and Democratic candidate Kennedy has entered its final and most acute phase. Both of them are literally beside themselves in their last minute efforts to win the maximum number of votes.

The lengths they are going to can be judged by the following: In one day spent in Chicago, John Kennedy managed to make 21 election speeches. no more, no less. Can one be surprised that according to American press reports, both candidates look tired, and hoarse sounds issue from their throats! Joking aside, 21 speeches! However, one must note that quantity in this case does not mean quality. The speeches of the candidates for the White House post are distinguished by their emptiness and the desire to sidestep the most acute issues of domestic and international policy.

The American voters are reacting quite uncompromisingly to this attitude. At several meetings in the past few days in the state of Michigan, Nixon was smothered with rotten eggs and tomatoes. The correspondents accompanying the Republican leader reported that on leaving one of these unsuccessful meetings, Nixon declared that the handful of deriders would contribute to his success. Well, it is not the first time that Mr. Nixon has had to put a good face on things.

Though very little time remains until the election, the chances of both parties remain unclear. It is true that quite recently an impression began to form that the Democratic Party and its candidate, John Kennedy, are somewhat ahead. Deterioration of the economic situation, unemployment, and high prices--all these factors are having an adverse effect for the ruling Republican Party. Nor do the belligerent statements of Nixon help matters. However, we will abstain for the moment from making any prediction. The very near future will clarify the matter.

U.S. Press on Election

Moscow, TASS, Radioteletype in English to Europe, Oct. 31, 1960, 1333 GMT--L

(Text) New York--The U.S. press continues to comment extensively on the decline of U.S. international prestige, which looms large in the electoral campaign in the country. Even those press organs which are backing the Republican Party in the electoral campaign have to admit the utter insolvency of the assertions by the Republican candidates Nixon and Lodge, and also by President Eisenhower, rushing in to support them, that U.S. prestige has never been so high as today.

Thus Joseph Alsop, the New York HERALD TRIBUNE correspondent, qualifies as a denial of obvious truth Eisenhower's statement in Philadelphia alleging that apprehensions over the sharp decline of American prestige abroad were unfounded. Alsop sarcastically recalls that the New York TIMES published "on almost adjoining pages the official report from the very men the President himself had charged with responsibility for the 'American image,' as he likes to call it. Their report, based on extensive soundings in West Europe," Alsop adds, "bore the recent date of Oct. 10. These men were saying that our most valued allies now believe that the United States has fallen behind the Soviet Union in space, in scientific capability, in military power, and even in future economic potential. Confidence in U.S. capacity for world leadership also appears less than satisfactory," the report glumly summed up.

Emphasizing that "prestige matters greatly since the horde of new nations and old nations in a state of flux are now making their investment choices," Alsop writes in serious anxiety. "Guinea, Ghana, Cuba, and many others have already concluded that America and the West are poorer investments than the Soviet Union. If countless other new and changing nations make the same choice as these, the situation will be uncontrollable. That is the heart of the matter."

New York TIMES correspondent Jordan bears out Alsop's apprehensions. "To check on the present status of this country's prestige," he writes, "the USIA solicited views of U.S. and foreign diplomats in more than 40 countries. Government officials, editors, businessmen, and others familiar with individual countries were asked for their impressions. The result emphatically supports the contention that Soviet prestige has grown during the last eight years, and the position of the United States has slipped in the eyes of the large majority. The reason cited in the survey," Jordan adds, "was the feeling that the United States has floundered."

The state of U.S. prestige abroad is so unfortunate that, as Jordan acknowledges, "in neutral Austria the question was not whether U.S. prestige has slipped--that was accepted as evident--but to what extent." There is "overwhelming agreement that there has been a drop in the prestige of the United States around the world"--such is the conclusion drawn by the New York TIMES, which offers no consolation to the United States.

#### Stevenson on Republican Party

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, Oct. 31, 1960, 1930 GMT--L

(Text) New York--One of the leaders of the U.S. Democratic Party, Adlai Stevenson, yesterday sharply criticized the Republicans and the presidential candidate of the Republican Party, Nixon.

During the period of the administration of the Republican Party, said Stevenson, the United States has allowed its economy to decline. In this connection, Stevenson noted the growth of unemployment in the United States and the intensification of economic difficulties in the country. However, Stevenson is particularly worried about "the growth of the communist influence in the world and the fall of the influence of the United States," as he put it. Stevenson described the present vice president of the United States, Nixon, as a man who is noted for being so reckless that he is capable of doing anything that might be "popular" at a given moment. Nixon, added Stevenson, is offering what has been given by General Eisenhower--America at a standstill, an America which has no reply to the challenge of our age.

#### "Nixonland" Versus "Trumanland"

(Editor's Note--L) Moscow home service at 1815 GMT on Oct. 29 carries a feuilleton which quotes from Harry Truman's California speech proposing that Nixon should open an entertainment part called "Nixonland," and adds that a "Trumanland" would look very much the same.

#### E A S T G E R M A N Y

#### BOTH PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES RECKLESS

Berlin, East German Home Service, Oct. 25, 1960, 2100 GMT--L

(Summary) After a nationwide preelection tour, Sulzberger recently wrote in the New York TIMES that the majority of voters are not particularly interested in either of the two presidential candidates.

"Despite the most costly and ostentatious propaganda show ever staged in connection with a U.S. election, the attitude of many Americans is today, exactly two weeks before election day, one of apathy. For, so far, neither Nixon nor Kennedy has put forward any fundamentally new ideas about U.S. policy. Yet the people are looking for a realistically minded statesman able to guide the country during this present, supremely important phase in the development of mankind. At the moment, however, they have only the choice between two clever publicity experts, uttering the hackneyed phrases of the cold war. No wonder, therefore, that nearly all the voters questioned (by Sulzberger) expressed great concern for peace. 'Let there be no war' is the foremost wish of the average American.

"The voters note with concern that, except for minor variations, both candidates advocate the same foreign policy which has led to the constant decline in U.S. international prestige during the past 10 years and which, as a supposed policy of strength, forced it from one untenable

position to another. One example out of the hullabaloo of election speeches, election tours, and television debates may suffice: Nixon said he would never abandon the two small islands off the Chinese coast, Quemoy and Matsu, and would defend them with American blood as belonging to the 'sphere of interest of freedom.' Kennedy thereupon reminded Nixon of the position adopted by his chief, Eisenhower, on this question, and the vice president began to quiet down a little.

"Next it was 'strong man' Kennedy's turn to launch his own provocation. He announced that if he is elected president he will support the counterrevolution in Cuba with arms and any other means. This caused Nixon to summon what understanding of international development he has left and to rebuke him, as this provocation suggested by Kennedy would not only lose the United States its last remaining friends in Latin America but result in the United States being condemned by the United Nations as well.

"These two examples are sufficient to show that both candidates harbor reckless plans which may plunge the world into atomic war."

#### P O L A N D

#### BONN UPSET BY NIXON SPEECH TO POLES

Warsaw, PAP, Radioteletype in English to Europe, Oct. 27, 1960,  
1203 GMT--L

(Text) Warsaw--The hue and cry in Bonn and the consternation, protests, and complaints concerning the Oder-Neisse frontier which broke out around the speech delivered by Republican presidential candidate Nixon to Polish-Americans are discussed by TRYBUNA LUDU. The paper says Vice President Nixon spoke of facts long known to the whole world: that the new life of the Poles in Western territories is a historic fact, that all Poles at home and abroad are united in defense of the western frontiers, and that these facts must inevitably affect the attitude of the Western powers.

TRYBUNA LUDU adds: "The Bonn revisionists were not reassured even by the fact that Mr. Nixon did not fail to dress up his speech with anti-Soviet speculation in which he tried again to oppose Poland to the Soviet Union and to the alliance to which the Polish nation owes the recovery of the historic lands on the Oder and Neisse and which guarantees their inviolability. The chauvinistic propaganda has probably rendered the Bonn revisionists so dumb that whenever a Western politician for various motives admits that the Oder-Neisse frontier, a fact which nobody can change, should be considered final, they become enraged and shout wild lamentations. Consternation reigns in Bonn government circles. Mr. Nixon has spoiled his reputation with Mr. Adenauer as the allegedly better champion of cold war than Mr. Kennedy. Such a disappointment!

Now they console themselves as best they can by saying that this is only the American elections, that one must not take this too seriously--all the more so because there is not much to choose from. In his desire for votes, Mr. Kennedy declared earlier that he would not allow the nations of Eastern Europe to be forcibly stripped of their territories and resources.

The West German press is protesting. Minister Seehofer incites additional revisionist outbursts, and addresses the following words to the United States: How is it that you have concluded a military pact with us, and now do not want to support our claims on Poland?

Then comes the threat that the Germans will lose confidence in American policy, that this is not to be reconciled with the spirit of the Atlantic alliance. Social Democrat Reutemann solemnly affirms that nobody will be able to erase the claims to the "German eastern territories." TRYBUNA LUDU calls attention next to the fact that the State Department hastened to disavow the Vice President of its own government in order to reassure its allies, the West German revanchists.

The Polish frontiers, TRYBUNA LUDU emphasizes in conclusion, are sufficiently protected. There is no frontier problem; there is only the problem of peace. And if Poland demands that all states which signed the Potsdam agreement should finally confirm the present Polish-German frontier, it does not do it in its own interest only, but in the interest of all European nations. It does it above all in order to deprive the German militarists and revanchists of the illusory and dangerous hope for revenge and in order to consolidate peace in Europe and the world.

#### RELIGION AN ISSUE IN U.S. CAMPAIGN

Warsaw, PAP, Radioteletype in English, Oct. 31, 1960, 0713 GMT--L

(Report by TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent Z. Broniarek on the religious issue in the U.S. presidential campaign)

(Summary) Although the Republicans have officially expressed themselves against bringing up the religious issue, there are ways to show the voters what could happen if a Catholic is elected. For example, many states, especially in the South, are flooded with anti-Catholic literature from unknown sources. Two facts show the sharper nature of this activity. The first is a decision by various Protestant churches to organize assemblies against Kennedy's election, and the second is an announcement by Nixon to make religion a central issue unless Kennedy retracts the words of his brother and campaign manager, Robert Kennedy, that the Republicans are cooperating in spreading anti-Catholic literature.

C Z E C H O S L O V A K I A

KENNEDY PRESSURED INTO VATICAN LOAN

(Editor's Note) The Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE on Oct. 23 carries an editorial by J. Ploshar entitled "The Vatican and the U.S. Elections." The editorial says that both Nixon and Kennedy represent the interests of the big monopolies, the only genuine difference between the two being their religious affiliations. The editorial notes that Kennedy, as a Catholic in a predominantly Protestant country, is naturally handicapped. In this situation, it says, the Vatican came to his support--for a price--promising the Democratic candidate the all-out support of the Catholic Church hierarchy in return for a 50-million-dollar loan, which the Democratic Party procured for the Vatican.

The loan, it alleges, is being negotiated by the Banque Internationale de Credit at Geneva and by the Frankfurter Handels-Bank. Cardinal Spellman had the main role in bringing about this deal, the editorial says, and in order to prod Kennedy and his party into action the cardinal went so far as seemingly to support Nixon on several occasions.

KENNEDY DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS SCORED

Prague, CTK, Radioteletype in English to Europe, Oct. 24, 1960, 1148 GMT--J.

(Text) Washington--Senator John Kennedy, the Democratic Party candidate for president, in a speech in Wisconsin on Oct. 23 sharply criticized the attitude of the Republican administration on the question of disarmament.

Kennedy declared that in the past eight years the Eisenhower administration has virtually ignored the problem of disarmament and has had no real disarmament policy. In this matter the Republican administration completely failed, Kennedy said, and did not provide the effort and the leadership which this problem demands.

Kennedy assailed his opponent, Republican candidate Nixon, denouncing his attempts to solve disarmament by "a battle of words."

Senator Kennedy then announced his own proposal for disarmament. After his scathing criticism of the Republican administration on this question, Kennedy's program could have been expected to offer as an alternative a genuine solution of this major world problem. The exact opposite is true, however.

In the first point of his "disarmament" plan Senator Kennedy states that the U.S. military position is "rapidly deteriorating." In his words, it is therefore necessary to continue the arms race if there are to be fruitful negotiations on disarmament.

In another point of his original program, Kennedy proposes that an arms control research institute be established which in essence would serve to improve espionage techniques. The proposal is therefore an alternative to the Republican policy of sending spy planes and satellites over USSR territory. Another point in Kennedy's program is the building of a system which would protect the United States "against the growing danger of accidental war."

The question arises: Why did Kennedy criticize the attitude of the Republican administration toward the disarmament question in such sharp terms if his disarmament program proposes a continuation of present U.S. policy in this question?

## B U L G A R I A

### NIXON EAST EUROPE TALK DRAWS EGGS

Sofia, Bulgarian Home Service, Oct. 31, 1960, 1830 GMT--M

(Text) American Vice President Richard Nixon has stated that if he is elected president of the United States he will make the peoples from socialist countries in East Europe happy by visiting them. "It is time we should work hard to bring the flag of freedom to the communist world," Nixon said. But the American electorate has not voted yet, and Nixon is compelled to tour the United States with his "flag of freedom" to recruit sympathizers. The train in which Nixon travels stops at almost every station, and the candidate delivers ardent speeches about American democracy and the "communist yoke," but the flag of freedom causes neither tears of sympathy nor enthusiastic cheers among the voters.

For some unknown reason, Americans are not throwing their hats in the air; they are throwing other things. A REUTERS correspondent reports that the first eggs of the campaign were thrown at Mr. Nixon. The eggs thrown by the crowd in Jackson did not hit the Vice President, and he pretended not to notice them. Later, in Grand Rapids, tomatoes were thrown at him. His epic calmness did not help the candidate. The population in Muskegon proved to be more accurate than those in Jackson. When Nixon went to a meeting in Muskegon, an AP report says, one of the eggs thrown at him hit his coat; thus in one day, Nixon was a target three times.

Nixon's flag of freedom is decorated with spoiled eggs and rotten tomatoes. As can be seen, even many Americans do not trust him, and Mr. Nixon wants to proudly carry their flag to the communist world. Only a person who has lost his reason can hope that this flag, hit and stained with spoiled eggs, can seduce anyone in the free socialist countries.

Y U G O S L A V I A

FOREIGN ISSUES IN U.S. CAMPAIGN VIEWED

Belgrade, Serbian Home Service, Oct. 21, 1960, 1830 GMT--M

(Text) For the fourth time presidential candidates Kennedy and Nixon meet in a television studio tonight. The company in whose studio the duel is to take place confidently declares: "Tonight the topic is foreign policy. Nixon and Kennedy have clashed sharply in this field. What you will see on your screens tonight may influence your decision."

The election campaign is pressing more and more on the American voter. It is less than half a month until the presidential election. The front pages of papers are devoted exclusively to it. Joseph Alsop, the well-known commentator, has toured towns and cities and says this morning that, in contrast to the Eisenhower-Stevenson campaigns, the voters have not arrived at any fixed opinions or clear decisions. The polls conducted by Gallup or by the newspapers show no great difference in favor of either candidate.

It is believed that the television duels helped Kennedy become as popular as Nixon. He has weakened the Republican argument about his lack of experience, for according to the majority of commentators Kennedy has shown himself to be at least as well informed and energetic as his rival.

Kennedy is a Catholic. This is enough for the other party to repeat constantly that religion should not be used in the election campaign. But this has been repeated so often that it in fact stimulates anti-Catholic feelings. A situation has arisen in which even various religious organizations are quarreling among themselves.

In the foreign political field the following themes dominate: U.S. prestige in the world, the defense of the Quemoy and Matsu islands, the admission of China to the United Nations, and the attitude toward Cuba. On a single day there were seven public statements on foreign policy by President Eisenhower, Kennedy, Nixon, their deputies, and Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Within one hour Kennedy and Nixon even appeared before the same meeting. At the annual meeting of the American Legion, an extremely conservative organization, Kennedy defended himself against Nixon's accusations and further supported rearmament in the interest of American military might, which he linked with prestige.

Nixon was more aggressive. He promised that the United States would fight against the admission of China into the United Nations by using its veto. He requested a sort of economic quarantine of Cuba. And although nothing more definite has been said about this, quarantine

probably means a break in diplomatic and trade relations. This is the attitude of the big one toward the little one, for sanctions and economic pressure are the elements of a policy built on force. This policy, however, does not conform with what President Eisenhower said in the General Assembly.

#### CONTROL OF U.S. CONGRESS ANALYZED

(Editor's Note) Belgrade in Serbian at 1400 GMT on Oct. 24 carries a report on the U.S. election campaign. It states that "political observers do not doubt that the future Congress, too, will remain in the hands of the Democrats. According to the latest public opinion polls, more people intend to vote for the Democrats. It is forecast that 58 percent of the voters will vote for Democratic congressmen and 42 percent for Republican congressmen." The presidential election will show whether the "present dualism of authority, prevailing during Eisenhower's administration, can be maintained. If Kennedy wins, his administration can count on full support in Congress. If Nixon wins, he will have to find a method of coordination with Congress, which is dominated by the Democrats. Thanks partly to his personal prestige, and partly to the coalition between the Southern Democratic and Republican congressmen, this dualism of authority did not obstruct Eisenhower in his policies. However, it is an open question whether Nixon, if he wins, can count on such a relationship between the government and Congress."

#### C O M M U N I S T C H I N A

##### LODGE: U.S. SEEKS GLOBAL DOMINATION

Peking, NCNA, Radioteletype in English to Europe and Asia, Oct. 23, 1960, 1746 GMT--B

(Text) Peking, Oct. 23--The U.S. Republican Party vice presidential candidate and former U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, claimed yesterday that the United States could not reach agreements with the socialist camp but must destroy it, according to a Chicago report.

Speaking in local television interviews, Lodge stated that the United States wanted to destroy the socialist camp and dominate the world. He said that the United States must promote the U.S. "ideal" and the "American way of life" in the whole world to stimulate "enthusiasm" for "winning the struggle against communism." The United States could not achieve this "through agreements," he said, but should make the American "ideal" and "way of life" "more attractive than the communist way of life."

Lodge also stressed that U.S. imperialism would continue its "nuclear deterrent" policy against the socialist camp. He reiterated the U.S. policy of hostility toward China and of obstructing the restoration of China's legal seat in the United Nations. On this question, he said that if the United States was "defeated" it would "stay and fight another day."

#### SQUABBLING MARKS U.S. CAMPAIGN FINALE

Peking, NCNA, Radioteletype in English to Europe and Asia,  
Oct. 28, 1960, 1416 GMT--B

(Text) Peking, Oct. 28--The U.S. presidential election campaign has entered its most intensive stage, according to Washington reports.

Democratic Party presidential candidate John F. Kennedy and Republican Party presidential candidate Richard Nixon, both chosen by the monopoly capitalist groups to play a part in the farce of the U.S. bourgeoisie, have been busy traveling throughout the United States while competing for the presidency. They travel hundreds of kilometers a day, by plane, train, and automobile; they shake hands and chat with people, and make as many as 10 election speeches each day; they bitterly attack and bicker with each other on the failure and hopelessness of the U.S. domestic and foreign policies.

On Oct. 25, Kennedy went to nearly 20 places and made 10 speeches. On the next day, Nixon braved the rain in Ohio and spoke many times to voters. He was also preparing to go to New York with Eisenhower to woo the voters. Every day the U.S. bourgeois press and publications carry large quantities of sensational news of all shades, using the opportunity to brag about U.S. bourgeois "democracy" in an attempt to deceive the voters.

This year's election campaigning of the Democratic and Republican parties is taking place at a time when the U.S. ruling circles are faced with an increasingly unfavorable domestic and foreign situation. Since the last U.S. presidential election four years ago, the international situation in which the East wind prevails over the West wind has become more prominent. The U.S. aggressive foreign policy has suffered one defeat after another. The frenzied arms expansion and war preparation by the U.S. Government have led to the further exposure and bankruptcy of the tricks of false peace with which it has been playing recently. Domestically, after barely getting over its 1957-58 economic crisis, the United States is again confronted with an economic crisis this year.

Therefore, it is increasingly difficult for the Republican Party to use the farcical slogan of "peace and prosperity" in its campaigning this year as it did in the past. But the speeches of the candidates of both parties show that they have no intention whatever of altering the already defeated U.S. policy of aggression and expansion abroad, which policy stemmed from the "position of strength." Moreover, they will pursue this policy even more frantically. The WALL STREET JOURNAL, in a commentary on Oct. 21, pointed out that if you "stop any 10 citizens on the street, 8 of them are sure this matter of war and peace is the most important in the election." Yet, the journal said, "they see little really at issue between the candidates. Both are . . . staunchly anticommunist, both are committed to standing up firmly to the Russians . . . and neither has proposed any dramatic way of breaking the cold war impasse."

Taking advantage of his favorable position as the candidate of the opposition party, Kennedy keeps attacking the Republican Party for putting "American prestige . . . at an all-time low." He declared that "the relative strength of the United States, militarily, politically, psychologically, scientifically, and industrially . . . compared with that of the Soviet Union . . . has deteriorated in the last eight years" under the Eisenhower government. "I look up and see the Soviet flag on the moon," he said. Kennedy has also repeatedly attacked the failure of the U.S. Government's China policy, pointing to the fact that an unprecedented number of the countries in the U.N. General Assembly supported the restoration of China's rightful seat in the United Nations. Panic stricken, he said the China issue was one which "most directly affected the power, prestige, and influence of the United States." He indicated that the United States would step up its policy of hostility toward China and its attempt to create two Chinas.

Kennedy insisted that the "direction" unfavorable to the United States "must be reversed." "To us, the major issue is . . . against communism," he stressed. For this, he proposed a plan for the United States to accelerate arms expansion and war preparations, saying that the United States should strengthen its "nuclear striking force," "speed up . . . special programs to give the United States the most up to date weapons to overcome the delay in the missile field," and carry out "modernization and increased mobility of conventional forces." He stressed: "A strong America is the one objective above all."

While advocating vigorous preparation of military strength, Kennedy also aims for subversive activities against the socialist countries. He attacked the bankrupt "liberation" policy of the Republicans as a "disheartening" and "empty promise." He said that the United States should "pursue a policy of patiently encouraging freedom" and "cultural exchange" to await "evolution."

Nixon denied that the U.S. prestige had greatly dropped, and boasted that it "is at an all-time high," instead of an "all-time low." But he also stressed that the United States should increase its "strength." "Whatever the cost may be," Nixon said, the United States must be sure of being "the strongest nation in the world militarily." The overriding issue of the United States is "to extend freedom to all the world," he said. He proposed that the United States "launch a new effort, an all-out offensive" in pursuing its policy of aggression and war, and advanced a program of intensified arms expansion and war preparations for this end.

Both Nixon and Kennedy show their intense hatred of the surging national independence movement. In their television debates, Kennedy advocated that the United States should take further measures to threaten Cuba. He claimed that the U.S. "trade embargo" against Cuba was "inadequate," that the United States should persuade other countries in the Western Hemisphere and its European allies to support its embargo against Cuba, and that it should confiscate Cuba's property in the United States and strengthen the Cuban counterrevolutionary forces which attempt to overthrow the Castro government. Nixon frankly admitted that the U.S. Government was using against Cuba the same tricks which overthrew former Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbenz. The United States will overthrow the Castro government by breaking trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba, he said.

Both Kennedy and Nixon favored using the United Nations as a "central instrument," and "aid" as a bait to step up expansion and aggression in the broad areas in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

On the domestic issues, Kennedy fiercely attacked the Republican government on the question of the economic crises in the United States. He pointed out that in the first nine months of this year the U.S. economy had declined and "dropped more than any major power." He estimated that, at present, "17 million Americans go to bed hungry." Kennedy advocated that the United States should greatly increase government expenditure, especially military expenses, to stimulate the economy.

Nixon agreed to such measures as increasing government spending. Like Kennedy, he advocated a "tax increase" to meet the increased government spending brought about by more arms expansion, war preparations, and "antirecession measures."

On the question of racial discrimination, Kennedy attacked the Eisenhower government for "giving no leadership" to enforce the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision of 1954. Jabbing back, Nixon said that Senate Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson, whom Kennedy himself selected as the Democratic Party's vice presidential candidate, was precisely the one who had consistently opposed the passage of "civil rights legislation."

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Reports show that the American voters are cool to the elections, since neither candidate has any program which genuinely reflects the aspirations of the American people. In some so-called public opinion polls, many voters refused to answer the question "whom do you favor?" AP reported on Oct. 25 that there was "a great lack of enthusiasm for either candidate." The U.S. Government estimated recently that only about 60 percent of the citizens of eligible age would vote on Nov. 8.

#### NIXON TERMS ATOMIC ARMS USE INEVITABLE

Peking, NCNA, Radioteletype in English to Europe and Asia,  
Oct. 31, 1960, 1923 GMT--B

(Text) Peking, Oct. 31--U.S. Republican Party presidential candidate and Vice President Richard Nixon boasted that "nuclear weapons would inevitably be employed" by the United States in any general war with Russia, according to a New York report. He said this in reply to questions put to him by the New York TIMES yesterday. Nixon also called for accelerated development of the U.S. "deterrent force," to destroy the war-making ability of the "enemy." Yesterday, Republican vice presidential candidate Henry Cabot Lodge even attended a fund-raising banquet for the Polish counterrevolutionary group, the so-called "Free Polish Government" in exile in London. In a provocative speech against Poland, Lodge promised that he would never forget the "suffering" of the Polish people and others "behind the iron curtain." "I will do everything within my power to alleviate that suffering," he added.

#### KENNEDY DEMANDS ANTI-CUBAN ACTIVITIES

Peking, NCNA, Radioteletype in English to Europe and Asia,  
Oct. 31, 1960, 1910 GMT--B

(Text) Peking, Oct. 31--U.S. Democratic Party presidential candidate John F. Kennedy again demanded aid for all counterrevolutionaries within and outside Cuba to subvert the Cuban Revolutionary Government, in a televised campaign speech in Philadelphia yesterday, according to a New York report.

Interviewed on the Columbia Broadcasting System's "Face the Nation" program, Kennedy indicated that the United States must give assistance to the so-called "democratic forces in and out of Cuba which were opposed to the Castro government." He proposed an increase of U.S. television and radio broadcasts to "encourage" those counterrevolutionaries. It is Kennedy's view that the current U.S. Government's hostility toward the Cuban revolution was not enough. He howled: "The United States should identify itself more with the cause of freedom." He said that this U.S. "commitment" applied not only to Cuba but to other Latin American countries and Africa.

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In an article appearing in the latest issue of VISION, a Spanish-language weekly news magazine, Kennedy put forth his "three-point program" for aggression in Latin American countries. He called for 1) the strengthening of the U.S.-controlled Organization of American States and turning the OAS "Commission on Human Rights" into a "tribunal" for U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of these countries; 2) the creation of a "consultative system" of inter-American nations to make up for the inadequacies of the OAS; and 3) the stepping up of economic plunder of the Latin American states under the name of "a cooperative effort."

#### C U B A

#### NIXON ASSAILS KENNEDY'S STAND ON CUBA

Havana, PRENSA LATINA, in Spanish Morse to Authorized Recipients, Oct. 23, 1960, 1540 GMT--E

(Excerpts) Washington--Richard M. Nixon, Republican candidate for the U.S. presidency, today dramatically called on his rival, Kennedy, to retract his opinion that the United States should give aid to Cuban counterrevolutionaries and war criminals. The call of Nixon, who has been vying with Kennedy to see which could appear more aggressive toward Cuba, was interpreted by Latin American diplomatic circles as a vain effort to extricate the North American government from the plans being hastened in Guatemala and Miami, as Foreign Minister Raul Roa stated, for the invasion of the island.

Nixon described Kennedy's cynical suggestion as dangerous, foolhardy, and lacking in maturity, but one source recalled that just yesterday he defended the embargo on exports to Cuba and the withdrawal of Ambassador Phillip Bonsal as measures favorable to the overthrow of the revolutionary government. Cuban Foreign Minister Roa justly stated in New York yesterday that Bonsal's arrival in Washington was part of the whole conspiracy directed against Cuba by the U.S. Government.

Nixon, who made his remarks in Allentown, Pa., recognized that Kennedy's suggestion of giving open aid to the Cuban counterrevolutionaries has already produced an unexpected reaction and consternation in various U.N. delegates from our sister republics of America, but he did not mention the disgust and fear aroused in vast sectors of the public opinion of this country by the aggressive policy carried out by the U.S. Government in its eagerness to strangle the small Caribbean island.

Senator Kennedy's suggestion, Nixon added, is a direct invitation to the Soviet Union to intervene militarily in the Cuban affair, which could lead to a third world war.

However, in the view of observers, Nixon's surprise appeal has to do with the note presented to the revolutionary government in Havana by the U.S. Embassy concerning some alleged planes at the San Antonio base with the North American flag painted on the fuselage. Both moves by the U.S. Government can be described as maneuvers to camouflage its responsibility in case the expected aggression, which has been vigorously denounced by the Cuban people, takes place.

#### Guatemalan Involvement Admitted

Havana, PRENSA LATINA, in Spanish Morse to Authorized Recipients, Oct. 23, 1960, 0015 GMT--E

(Excerpts) New York--The vice president of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, today admitted that the U.S. Government plans to repeat in Cuba the events of Guatemala which led to the overthrow of President Jacobo Arbenz and the installation of strong man Carlos Castillo Armas. Nixon made these statements during a debate with the other U.S. presidential candidate, John F. Kennedy, broadcast throughout the country over television.

The Republican presidential candidate admitted that General Eisenhower's government is prohibiting exports of those items which the Cuban Government needs for survival and he agreed with the measure. Nixon calls this placing Castro in economic quarantine. He said that the measure recalling the U.S. ambassador to Cuba is political quarantine and that this strategy will result in an uprising against the Cuban Government as it did in Guatemala.

A Latin American diplomat told PRENSA LATINA that Kennedy's statements confirm the accusation made by Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa that the U.S. Government is training an army of mercenaries and a fleet of planes to make an attack upon Cuba.

This is what many U.S. Government officials admitted publicly was done in Guatemala with Castillo Armas as the instrument, said the Latin American diplomat, and now Nixon admits that the United States will try it again in Cuba.

Most of the Nixon-Kennedy controversy on television, as well as earlier shows, was devoted to proposing means and modifications to the measures used by the U.S. Government to overthrow the revolutionary government of Cuba.

The vice president of the United States did not mention the accusations by the Cuban Government, by several European governments, and by union, student, peasant, and professional organizations from almost every Latin American country to the effect that these measures proposed by Kennedy have already been taken by the Eisenhower-Nixon government.

C A M B O D I A

U.S. CANDIDATES VAGUE ON ISLANDS ISSUE

Phnom Penh, LA DEPECHE DU CAMBODGE, in French, Oct. 18, 1960--S

(Article by K.: "The International Atmosphere Poisoned by an Election Campaign")

(Text) The Nixon-Kennedy controversy on the coastal islands situated far from Taiwan marks an important step in waging the cold war and does not contribute anything to easing international tension. While the Republican candidate advocates the retention of the Quemoy and Matsu coastal islands, which he says are an "essential part of the defense system of the free world," Kennedy, his rival, is not inclined to die for Chiang Kai-shek's sake.

But it is subsequently learned that the divergent views of the two great American parties have been reconciled. Neither of the two parties wants to adopt a definite attitude in the matter for fear of estranging a portion of the American constituency which has yet to say its word. In addition, the "China Lobby" is said to be still powerful in Congress as well as in major states. It is necessary to take care not to wound the feelings of anybody.

But is that what is expected of a great power? The positions adopted should be clear and unambiguous. Both the voters and people abroad should know beforehand the political line to be adopted by the candidates.

The above problem concerns us only in the sense that a tendency to desperately defend the coastal islands off Taiwan may perhaps cost us world peace because these islands are, perforce, advance posts against the Chinese mainland. What would the Americans say if Guantanamo--a Cuban base presently occupied by them--fell into Soviet hands? They would perhaps bring pressure to bear and would run "calculated risks" to neutralize this base.

We are not going to defend the viewpoint of Peking, which is powerful enough to defend itself. We merely state that in the case of our coastal islands, our Chinese friends alone have supported us and recognized that these islands are incontestably Cambodian.

Politics is doubtless an art which deals with possibilities, but it also is a school where probability is taught. Did not Montesquieu say that honesty still remains the most effective trick in politics?